

THE
FRIENDSHIP OF AMERICA
FOR
JAPAN

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THE
FRIENDSHIP OF AMERICA
FOR
JAPAN



LETTERS FROM
President WOODROW WILSON
Secretary WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
AND
MANY REPRESENTATIVE AMERICANS
TO THE
CHRISTIAN EMBASSY TO JAPAN
SENT BY THE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA



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I

AN INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

What is the real attitude of America toward Japan? Is it one of more or less ill-will and suspicion, or is it one of essential good-will? Unquestionably the latter.

President Wilson writes in his letter to President Mathews of December 14, 1914:—"That the feeling of America toward Japan is one of genuine friendship I think you feel as strongly as I do, and any message of friendship and cooperation and mutual good-will is undoubtedly from the American people themselves."

And Secretary Bryan confirms this statement by his letter to Dr. Mathews, from which we take the following sentence.

"As the head of the Council of Churches, representing thirty great denominations and something like seventeen millions of members, your words ought to have great weight when you tell the people there of the genuine friendship which the people of this nation feel toward the people of Japan. There is no country with which our relations are more amicable, there being but one subject upon which the two nations are not in entire agreement—the California question—and I have no doubt that a solution will be found for that question which will be honorable to both nations."

That these expressions of friendship for Japan by the official heads of the American people are not merely official utterances but truly represent the attitude of the people as a whole, the appended letters and excerpts will serve to show.

In order that the reader may appreciate the significance of these letters, a brief statement should be made in regard to the action of the Federal Council in the establishment of the Commission on Relations with Japan and its decision to send a Christian Embassy to Japan.

As indicated in the sentence from the letter by Secretary Bryan, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is a delegated body representative of thirty Protestant churches

and denominations. The number of local churches in these denominations is about 136,000, and the number of communicant members is about seventeen million. This Federal Council has only recently come into existence (1908) and is therefore only starting upon its promising career.

In April 1914 the Federal Council established a "Commission on Relations with Japan." The purpose of this Commission was to study the problem of the relations of these two countries from the standpoint of the teachings of Jesus and to take such steps as might seem needful for the promotion of mutual good-will.

This Japan Commission has already provided for important investigations in the United States. It has also undertaken an extensive campaign of education in regard to American-Japanese relations. For the further promotion of this campaign it has appointed Shailer Mathews, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and Sidney L. Gulick, Representative on International Relations, to serve as a Christian Embassy to carry to the Christians of this land the greetings of the Christians of America and the assurances that in spite of certain appearances to the contrary, the real attitude of America as a whole to Japan is that of continued good-will.

The need for this "Christian Embassy" to Japan is twofold. We desire to secure fresh material for the more effective carrying out of the campaign of education in America. For although the general attitude of America to Japan is as stated above, friendly, yet there are sinister forces at work making for ill-will. Moreover, for the establishment of relations mutually satisfactory, certain legislative actions are needed for which the American public must be prepared.

In the second place, sinister forces seem to be at work also in Japan leading to the belief by many Japanese that the attitude of America to Japan is that of more or less pronounced disdain and animosity, and also that America has aggressive

designs in the Far East. During the autumn months many letters from Japan told of a rising spirit of unfriendliness toward America, and the development rather widely of the belief that a war with America was certain and more or less imminent.

From a correspondent in Kyushu in a letter dated Sept. 4 we quote the following sentence :—

“For a long time I was unwilling to believe that the Japanese people at large cherished feelings of enmity towards America, but the evidence that they are waiting eagerly for an opportunity to go to war with us is getting too strong to be any longer ignored except by those who are wilfully blind or wholly out of touch with conditions here. Not only is the ‘jingo’ tone of much of the press very pronounced (I have been shocked at some of the offensive things I have seen in the Japanese papers), but the common talk is all toward war.”

Another writer from central Japan, under date of Oct. 7, writes as follows :—

“It is remarkable what a common opinion there is among the common people that war between Japan and the United States is inevitable. The jingoistic press has pounded that idea early and late until the people are coming to believe it. I am just back from a trip. I was asked several times, going and coming, on the steamer, in the hotel, by the Christians, if I considered war inevitable. Of course, I replied that it was wicked even to talk about it. But I am coming to think that if diplomacy does not settle things soon, the well-wishers and peace-lovers will avail nothing, and there will be a bolt out of the blue one of these days, just as there was in Europe. Men cannot accustom themselves to the possibility of such a thing as war without producing the conditions which make it inevitable.”

A letter from Kyoto of November 9 contains the following :—

“You cannot fail to have recognized in the Japanese press the tone of bitterness and irritation that characterizes many of their articles on American-Japanese relations, and also the fact that they tend to put a sinister interpretation on many of the acts of our government and of individual Americans. I find unmistakable evidence of the widely spread feeling of irritation and resentment. One is always asked, ‘Are you an Englishman?’ and when one replies, ‘No, I am an American,’ a very significant silence follows, and one cannot but feel that the reply is unwelcome.”

A letter from Tokyo of November 16 contains the following statements :—

“I regret to say that the campaign of virulence against the United States still goes on in the vernacular press, and since the outbreak of war in Europe seems to be more bitter than ever. That this is not my opinion alone you will see from the clippings showing protests from both Japan and America. It is the same thing that went on for some time before the rupture of relations with Russia, and I fear it will lead to trouble again unless the people of Japan be given an opportunity of knowing the other side... The mind of Japan will have to be educated. If the people find that every wicked thing said about America is deliberately unfounded and malicious, they will soon learn the difference. There is a strong feeling against Americans at present, and they feel it keenly.”

Perhaps the most impressive statement of all came December 6 from a Japanese friend, a man of international standing, not a member of a Christian church, whose reputation entitles his opinions to the highest credence and respect. Among other important sentences were the following :—

“I am indeed sorry to say that a strong undercurrent

of anti-American sentiment is flowing in Japan and it may burst out at any opportunity. It is not simply an effect of the California question, but the more powerful and irritating cause lies in China. Concession after concession made to America by China, and a most irritating one, a proposal of conceding a naval station for America in Fukien (opposite Formosa) are causing suspicion and resentment against America to grow without a check.....I look forward with great anxiety for the future of the Christian movement in the Far East."

Among the many disturbing factors reported have been alleged telegrams, interviews, and speeches, which investigation has shown to be false. They have asserted an anti-Japanese speech by Rear-Admiral Nicholson in Pekin, the decision of the American government to send the entire battle fleet to the Far East, the assertions of a so-called Paymaster Malcock with regard to the near approach and the forces of the American navy involved, the negotiations of China with the United States for the possession by the United States of a naval base in China, etc., etc.

In view of the above letters and conditions, as a preparation for the visit to Japan of the Christian Embassy it seemed desirable to secure as adequate a knowledge as possible of the attitude to Japan of representative Americans. For this purpose a letter was prepared, embodying the above and other quotations from letters, and asking several questions. The main paragraphs of the letter are as follows :

"Baron Sakatani, Mayor of Tokyo, which office makes him one of the most influential men of Japan, writes in the latest copy of the 'Peace Movement' in Japan that the time has come when influential men in both countries should exchange opinions in a most unreserved manner to find out where the interests of the two nations differ, and whether these interests cannot be harmonized in some

way, and if so, how. The results of their investigations should be referred to the governments of the two countries, which would subsequently negotiate the differences with the utmost sincerity.

"In view of the many misleading rumors that are circulated in Japan with regard to the ambitious designs of America in the Far East and our alleged intrigues for blocking the expansion of Japan, it seems desirable that there should be something of a widespread expression of opinion on the part of leaders in this country that may serve to quiet the fears of the Japanese.

"The Commission on Relations with Japan is about to send on a brief visit to that country a delegation consisting of Dr. Shailer Mathews, President of the Federal Council, and myself. We think that it will materially aid in securing helpful results if we can take with us letters in regard to the international relations from a considerable group of American leaders of public opinion. Will you not kindly write a letter, not to exceed three hundred words, expressing very frankly your thought with reference to the following questions."

"Does the United States have any desire for territorial expansion in the Far East?"

"Do the leading citizens of the United States feel that a naval port anywhere on the Continent of Asia is needed by the United States?"

"Does the United States in any way oppose or desire to undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce either in Asia or elsewhere?"

"Do you conceive it possible that the United States, for purposes of selfish aggression, would attack Japan or China?"

"What is the ground of the suspicion of Japan more or less widespread in the United States?"

The above letter was sent to a large number of members of denominations connected with the Federal Council, men representative of important groups and classes of society. They generally responded to our request. The reading of these letters produces an impression of remarkable unanimity of thought and feeling. There is indeed such unanimity that the publication of all the letters in full is needless. It seems better to select typical replies to each of the questions. In a few cases the entire letter is reproduced.

The official Message of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to the Christians in Japan is also appended, and two important resolutions.

We pray that He Who is the Heavenly Father of all men and all nations may guide our two countries into relations of growing understanding, good-will, and helpfulness.

SHAILER MATHEWS,

SIDNEY L. GULICK,

II

Replies to the letter mentioned in the foregoing section were recieved from more than sixty gentlemen whose names (omitting all titles) are herewith given in alphabetical order, with some indication of their social positions. Each man holds a position of high trust, and was selected because of his special familiarity with public opinion in wide sections of the United States.

LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS

Roger W. Babson, President of Babson's Statistical organization, Boston, Mass.

Simeon E. Baldwin, Governor of the State of Connecticut.

Jas. L. Barton, Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, Boston Mass.

Nolan R. Best, Editor of the "Continent," New York City.

W. C. Bitting, Corresponding Secretary of the Northern Baptist Convention.

H. A. Bridgeman, Editor of the Congregationalist, Boston, Mass.

Arthur J. Brown, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Geo. Warren Brown, Manufacturer and Capitalist, St. Louis, Mo.

Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of Massachusetts Agricultural College.

T. N. Carver, Professor of Economics, Harvard University.

Francis E. Clark, Founder and President of the United Societies of Christian Endeavor, Boston, Mass.

Geo. W. Coleman, Former President of the American Advertisers Association, Director of the Ford Hall Foundation, Boston, Mass.

William Knowles Cooper, General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of the City of Washington.

Hanford Crawford, Capitalist, St. Louis, Mo.

John J. Eagan, Member of Congress, Founder and President of the Eagan Schools, Hoboken, New Jersey.

W. H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Robert H. Gardiner, Secretary of the World Committee on Faith and Order.

Washington Gladden, Former Moderator of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the U. S. A.

J. M. Glenn, General Director of the Russel Sage Foundation, New York.

Jas. N. Gamble, Capitalist, Cincinnati, Ohio.

R. P. Hobson, Congressman, Alabama.

Arthur T. Hadley, President Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

William H. Hagar, Manufacturer, Lancaster, Pa.

A. W. Harris, President Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.

Hubert C. Herring, Secretary of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States of America.

Hamilton Holt, Editor of the Independent.

Edwin H. Hughes, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, San Francisco, California.

Harry Pratt Judson, President of the University of Chicago.

Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

J. H. Kirkland, Chancellor Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

William P. Lipscomb, Vice President of the District National Bank, Washington, D. C.

Joshua Levering, Merchant and Capitalist, Baltimore, Md.

R. A. Long, Capitalist, Kansas City, Mo.

Seth Low, Former Mayor of New York City, Former President of Columbia University, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Mark A. Mathews, Former Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States.

Edwin Caldwell Moore, Professor Harvard University,

President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, Mass.

Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

E. E. Alcott, President of the Hudson River Day Line, New York City.

J. R. Pepper, Vice President Union and Planters Bank and Trust Co., Memphis, Tenn.

H. K. Porter, Capitalist, Washington, D. C.

Rush Rhees, President of the University of Rochester, New York.

William North Rice, President Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

William H. Roberts, Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A.

A. M. Scales, Attorney, Greensboro, N. C.

Chas. A Schieren, Manufacturer, New York City.

William Shaw, General Secretary United Society of Christian Endeavor.

William F. Slocum, President of Colorado College, Colorado.

P. F. Stratton, Physician, Oakland, Cal.

Edward A. Steiner, Professor Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.

John T. Stone, Former Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A.

Thos. W. Synnott, Executive Committee of the World's Sunday School Association, Philadelphia, Pa.

G. W. F. Swartzell, Capitalist, Washington, D. C.

Fred E. Tasker, Lawyer, New York City.

Chas. L. Thompson, Secretary of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A.

John F. Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers Union, Boston, Mass.

George E. Vincent, President of the University of Minnesota.

E. K. Warren, Chairman of the World's Sunday School Association.

O. W. Whitelock, President of the Whitelock Press, Huntington, Indiana.

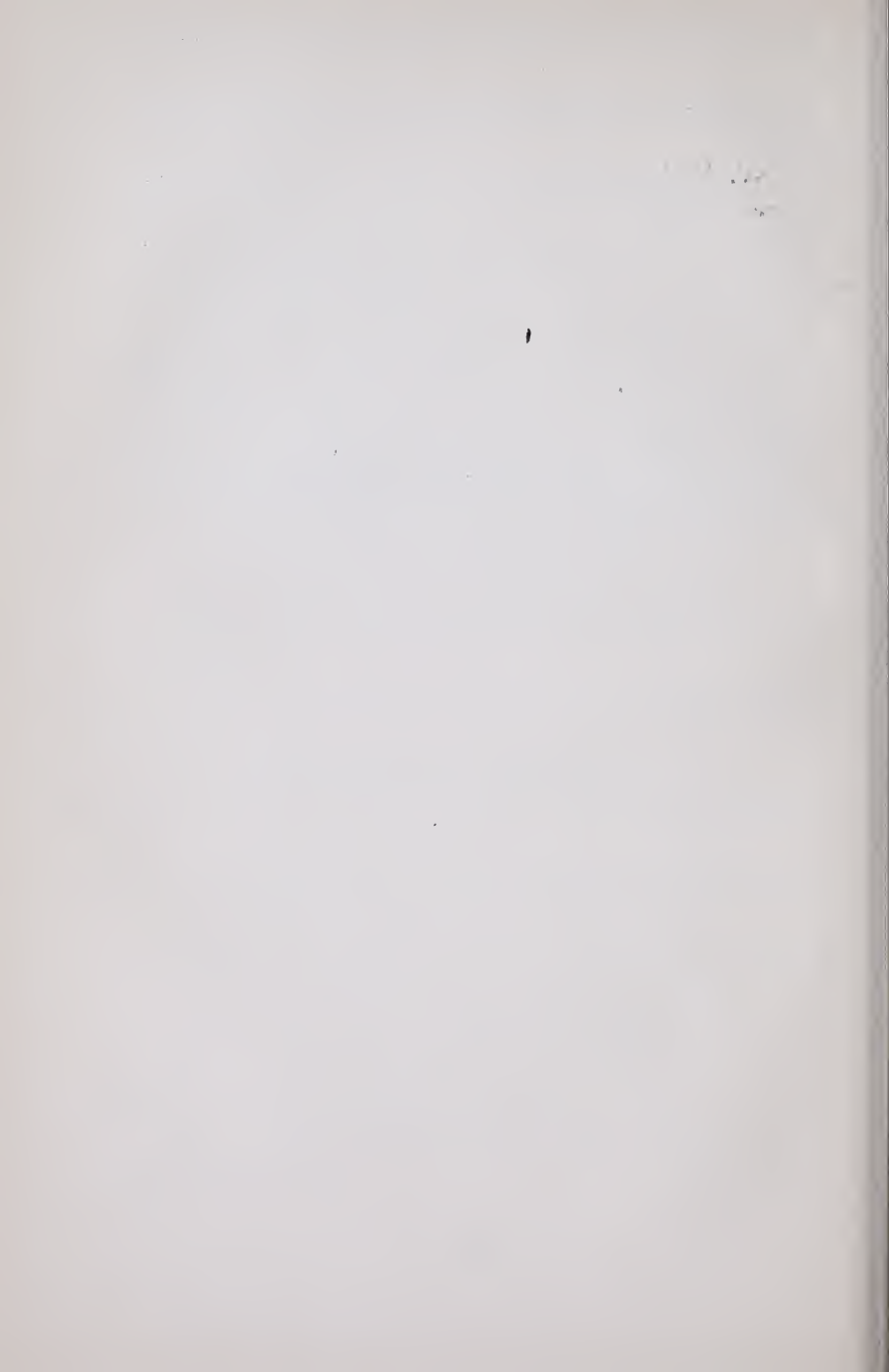
Mary J. Wooley, President Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

Henry Wallace, Editor "Wallace's Farmer" Des Moines, Iowa.

Herbert Welch, President Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

Mornay Williams, Attorney, New York City.

Talcott Williams, Director School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York.



III

As already indicated, remarkable unanimity of opinion is expressed in all the letters. Publication accordingly of the entire correspondence seems needless; more serviceable will it be to collect typical answers to each of the five questions.

QUESTION NUMBER ONE

"Does the United States have any desire for territorial expansion in the Far East."

REPLIES

The universal answer to this question is an emphatic "No." Some correspondents go further and say that not only is there no desire for expansion but that we desire rather to dispose of what Asiatic territory we have. The United States has twice entirely withdrawn its troops from Cuba after military occupancy of that island. Further, although there has been highly provoking cause for the military occupation of Mexico, where America has investments amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars yet America has refused to interfere in the affairs Mexico, and the policy of President Wilson is almost universally approved by the people of the United States. These facts are clear evidence that America has no "Imperial Policy." Finally—the widely felt desire of Americans to give autonomy to the Philippines as soon as is practicable is proof that America has no desire for Asiatic territory. On this point we append extracts from seven letters.

"I am confident that most of the people of the United States not only do not desire territorial expansion in the Far East, but that large numbers of them would like to have the United States withdraw from the position which it now occupies there."

"Within two years I have travelled all over the United States and am also in close touch with men of thought and action from every part of the country. Never have I seen the least indication of a desire on the part of the people of the United States for territorial expansion in the Far East."

"As actions speak louder than words, I would cite our recent relations with Mexico, where every opportunity,

including the killing of our men by 'snipers,' was offered for us to add to our territory a great tract of land rich in many kinds of wealth. Cuba might also be cited, and the fact of the desire of the American people to retire from the Philippines as soon as conditions are stable enough to warrant."

"So far as I have ever known or heard, the United States Government as represented by the two great political parties has never expressed or really considered any thought of territorial expansion in the Far East. When the Philippines were thrust upon us in 1898 like a 'bolt out of the blue' the country was about evenly divided as to whether we should, in the emergency, accept so much as a protectorate over the Islands. It must be manifest now, from the action of the present Administration, that their tendency is to relinquish as much as possible even of the control of these Islands to the native government and to weaken even our present position in that section."

"Undoubtedly the United States Government and its people have no desire whatever for territorial expansion in the Far East. Action already taken by Congress indicates that they want to give up their responsibility for the Philippines as soon as it can be done without danger to the people of the Philippines. I believe that this action meets with the hearty concurrence of the majority of the people of the United States."

"As for the masses of men and women who earn their living by honest toil, I doubt if they give serious consideration to territorial expansion in the Far East even when wily politicians make 'imperialism' a campaign issue."

"I do not believe that any serious man in the United States desires territorial expansion in the Far East. Our possession of the Philippines was an accident. There are

many who heartily wish we were rid of them. Even those who feel we should for the present retain them do so because they think that the result of our sudden relinquishment of the Islands would be anarchy. . . . The course of America with reference to both Cuba and Mexico shows that despite the fact that we too suffer from a jingo press, yet the most of our people and those who really make public sentiment, do not want accession to our territory and will do anything which can be done with honor to avoid war with anybody."

QUESTION NUMBER TWO

“Do leading citizens of the United States feel that a naval base anywhere on the continent of Asia is needed by the United States?”

REPLIES

This question was definitely asked because of the story widely circulated in Japan that negotiations are on foot between America and China for the ceding to America of such a base in the province of Fukien, opposite Formosa.

The negative answer to this question is equally unanimous. Even the question itself is absolutely new to most of the writers. It is probably safe to say that not one in a thousand of American citizens has ever heard the question even suggested. The Department of State in Washington denied the existence of any such alleged negotiations. Because of the practical identity of the various replies we quote only four.

“This is to me an entirely new proposal, and I cannot imagine that the idea could command popular approval.”

“The United States do not feel that a naval port anywhere on the continent of Asia is needed by the United States.”

“I have never myself heard, nor can I learn by careful inquiry of officials and of Americans who have long been resident in the East, the thought even expressed that there was the slightest occasion for the United States to have any naval station on the continent of Asia. Only yesterday a gentleman long resident in Shanghai said that to his knowledge the idea had never been suggested.”

“I have heard no specific desire expressed for a naval port on the continent of Asia: and so long as we are left undisturbed in the Philippines I do not think any such desire is likely to manifest itself.”

QUESTION NUMBER THREE

“Does the United States of America in any way desire to oppose or to undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce either in Asia or elsewhere?”

REPLIES

It is of course recognized by all the writers that wherever individuals whether of different or of the same people compete for trade each seeks his own advantage. And this is universally recognized as legitimate. The correspondents however, all hold that the United States, so far as they know does not wish to exert any preferential governmental influence for the promotion of American commerce in the Far East. The American policy is that of the “open door”—equal opportunity for all.

“Never in the last five years have I heard or read a word from any of my fellow citizens indicating a desire to oppose or undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce, either in Asia or elsewhere.”

“The United States I am confident has no desire to interfere with or to oppose the expansion of the commerce of any section of the world. Although myself a merchant for many years engaged in handling to a considerable extent articles of merchandise made in the East; I have never heard the thought expressed that the United States had anything to gain by even discouraging the commerce of Japan in Asia or elsewhere. In fact ‘an open door’ is our trade motto.”

“In the groups of men with whom I have come in contact there is no desire to oppose the expansion of the commerce of Japan or of any other nation, so long as the goods sold are what they are represented to be. But you will readily understand that in business circles people fear additional competitors, and there would probably be many groups of men who would desire to oppose the extension

of individual lines of Japanese business activity—not as a matter of national policy, but as a matter of individual business.”

“Japan has absolute necessity of expansion beyond her borders. For that necessity we have no parallel. Her position in that regard is somewhat like that of England. It ought not to be impossible for her to achieve that which is necessary without crime, and for us to view that achievement without jealousy. The largest factor in the problem at the present moment, in my opinion, is the maintenance of a just and generous mind on the part of the people of the United States.”

“I believe that the United States regard with sympathy the development of Japanese commerce. Trade involves competition between nations as well as between individuals, but I see no reason why we should have any rivalry with Japan in the commercial field other than a generous and friendly one.”

QUESTION NUMBER FOUR

"Do you conceive it possible that the United States for purposes of selfish aggression would attack Japan and China.

REPLIES

Again answers are unanimously and emphatically negative. This question also was sent to the correspondents because of the reported widespread belief among the common people of Japan that war with America is inevitable and that America is likely to attack Japan at any convenient moment.

Those who really know America assert that such a belief is absolutely unfounded and, in fact, grotesque. Every letter states this position in the most positive way. Should America be attacked by enemies there would of course be not only resistance but counter attack if possible. But military aggression either upon China or Japan for the sake of trade or territorial expansion is inconceivable. America has no "imperialistic" policy or spirit.

The following quotations surely make this point clear.

"It is absolutely inconceivable that the United States, for purposes of self aggrandizement would attack Japan or China."

"I do not believe that it is possible for the United States for purposes of selfish aggression to inaugurate a war upon Japan or China. The course which the United States have taken in reference to China may be taken as evidence that that which I have said is not mere opinion. There has been no disposition to take the smallest bit of territory in China, even when most other powers were seizing points of advantage."

"The fact that there is still room for development at home lessens the probability of an aggressive foreign

policy of conquest. Such a policy is completely out of harmony with national traditions and ideals.

"As to America ever attacking Japan or China, the people would rise against a party advocating such an action *en masse* and send it home in disgrace. But if we were attacked, the response of the people would be instantaneous and well-nigh unanimous."

"I believe it is utterly impossible that the United States would for purposes of aggression, or for any other purpose, attack China or Japan. In the whole range of possible international transactions my imagination fails to conjure up any situation which would lead to a deliberate and selfishly aggressive attack by the United States upon any nation."

"It is beyond any conception of possibility in my mind that the United States should ever, for purposes of self aggression, attack Japan or China. I simply cannot imagine any such action on the part of our country. I believe that the overwhelming sentiment of the United States is for the most cordial relations with Japan and every other country. The number of those who think otherwise is comparatively insignificant."

"It is not within the range of possibility that the United States for the purpose of selfish gain, would attack Japan, China or any other nation. Our people would not stand for such an act, and our rulers would not consider it."

"I cannot conceive it possible for the United States to make an attack upon Japan or China for purposes of selfish aggression."

"It is to me inconceivable that the United States would for any reason other than extreme necessity for self defence attack any nation whatever."

"It is just as incredible that the United States would

attack China or Japan for purposes of aggression as it is that Ohio should attack Illinois or Michigan for such purposes. Nobody but a crazy man could dream of such a thing."

"I cannot imagine that the United States would ever attack Japan or China except in self-defense."

"Nothing seems more improbable than that the United States would attack Japan or China, or for that matter any other power for purposes of selfish aggression. Most emphatically public feeling is against this."

"The United States for no purposes of selfish aggression could ever be made to attack Japan or China."

QUESTION NUMBER FIVE

"What is the ground of the suspicion of Japan, more or less widespread in the United States?"

REPLIES

Evidently there is no general suspicion of Japan in America. On this question alone is there difference of opinion. Some assert that there is no suspicion whatever. Others admit that there is some but they regard it as the work of agitators. Still others feel that there is suspicion and that it is widespread and grounded on facts. The various causes assigned for the suspicion are "yellow journalism" in America and Japan, alleged Japanese "imperialistic" policies and Japanese military equipment and preparations. Notable is the slight reference to the race issue, and even to economic competition.

Emphasis must be placed on the important fact that these statements regarding suspicion of Japan are made by men whose strong statements of good-will for Japan and denial of an "imperialistic" policy in America have already been quoted.

We give quotations from many letters that the reader may see how widely varied are the opinions.

"Whatever suspicion there is in the United States as to Japan's motive is fostered entirely by a yellow press and certain jingoistic and militaristic elements that have something to gain by such agitation. The American people as a whole are profoundly friendly toward Japan."

"It is my opinion that the suspicion of Japan in the United States is almost entirely artificial and is fomented in the war-scare promulgated once in a while by a comparatively few of our people. . . . In my opinion the sole difficulty in our general relations with Japan is economic."

"Suspicion of Japan arises from the not infrequent

report that Japan has designs, and from rumors of an unfriendly attitude of the people of Japan."

"There is a suspicion more or less widespread in the United States that the Japanese Government and the Japanese people. . . . would like to acquire territory somewhere, and that she may be looking to this western hemisphere for such an outlet. There is also a belief that the Japanese government some years ago entered upon a campaign of educating the Japanese people in the belief that a war with the United States was imminent."

"Certainly among no substantial portion of our population is there the slightest inclination to deal with Japan in any other than the most neighborly and friendly fashion. The fear that Japan intends some ill stroke against America is occasioning nervousness in many quarters, but strong and increasingly stronger forces are at work to demonstrate to persons of that opinion that Japan on the contrary, is fully desirous of continuing its traditional amity with the United States."

"The ground for the suspicion of Japan more or less widespread in the United States is the fear of the expansion of the Japanese population on the American continent, which expansion of population would inevitably result in Japanese territorial expansion."

"Whatever suspicion there may be in the minds of any of the American people is due to the Occident not understanding the Orient, and is not especially applicable to the Japanese. The removal of the friction on the Pacific Coast, due to local and economic causes, and the increasing interchange of commerce, ideas and good-will will soon obliterate even the rather unintelligent suspicion of Japan which now prevails in some quarters."

"Our nation is suffering, as I understand Japan is,

from 'yellow journalism.' To them is due any manifestations that may have seemed unfriendly to Japan."

"Any suspicion of Japan which may exist in America has grown out of the reports which have been brought to America of the attitude of the Japanese press with relation to the United States."

"I know no ground for any suspicion of Japan in the United States nor do I think there is any such suspicion widely spread."

"I would not say that there was widespread suspicion of Japan in the United States. I would say rather that there was a large amount of indifference and ignorance about Japan. Whatever suspicion there is probably arises from a fear of mingling with Eastern races and from the fear by labor unions of competition."

"There is no suspicion of Japan in the United States and there is no ground of suspicion except that which may be created within a small circle by the infamous yellow journals, or the labor unions of the country who fear the introduction of coolie labor. If such is to be considered a ground of suspicion it is wholly an economic ground and not a racial prejudice or suspicion. The labor unions for economic reasons might object to Japanese laborers taking their places. Their objections would be based wholly on economic reasons, not racial."

"I do not believe there is a widespread suspicion of the Japanese in the United States. I know that the sentiment against the Japanese is acute in the Pacific Coast States, more particularly in California. I believe that that has been a question very largely of the wages for labor : . . . meantime, we should work for constitutional changes in our country by which it should be made impossible for the prejudice of one State or group of States to control the policy and legislation of the nation as

a whole and especially to render uncertain the fulfillment of treaty pledges."

"Whatever suspicion exists is based upon the following: . . . low moral standards; . . . their aggressive attitude as immigrants in this country; their attempts to get control of strategic positions in this continent, as in Mexico and in Midvale, Pa.; the militarism which dominates the national life; the detailed preparedness for the recent wars they have waged; their industrious efforts to secure information as to the defenses and resources of our country. Added to these is the racial suspicion and antipathy which is general in those sections which contain the greatest number of Orientals."

"The only ground of suspicion of Japan that I can discover is a fear that the Japanese feel outraged against the treatment of their people by the Pacific Coast States particularly California, and therefore desire revenge. Constant reports come to this country that this is the popular feeling in Japan and is catered to by local papers generally."

"The ground for the suspicion of the Japanese so far as I am able to discover grows out of the frequent reports that come to America that there is persistent antagonistic feeling on the part of Japan toward the United States."

"If there is any widespread suspicion of Japan in the United States I am not aware of it. . . . If there is any such feeling I believe it proceeds entirely from a vague ill-defined fear of the so-called yellow peril which has been permitted to creep into certain minds and has never been tested by any real investigation of the facts."

"It is difficult to explain the ground for the suspicion alluded to in question five. Japan has risen so rapidly to the position of a world power and has so successfully and aggressively carried on its large undertakings, that some

have imagined it might have designs upon our commerce and territory ; but I think the subject is a very difficult one to analyze, and do not believe that anyone can point to particular acts of the Japanese which would lay the foundations for such a suspicion."

" In my opinion the real basis of any opposition to the Japanese in San Francisco and the Pacific Coast generally comes from the workers whose wages have been undermined by employers who have used the Japanese as a means of reducing wages."

" A few men profess cause for alarm and Congressman Hobson is the most conspicuous one ; he has by his lectures created a suspicion that Japan was not friendly to us ; but this suspicion is not widespread ; most people think his suspicions almost wholly groundless."

" Economic rivalry is easily changed, especially by demagogues, into racial rivalry, and for the most part, this is the root, in my judgment of the feeling existing, so far as it does exist, against the Japanese. . . . The second reason is the malicious fomenting of differences between the United States and Japan by those who share the militaristic spirit."

IV

In addition to the many brief quotations given in section III it seems desirable to give a few of the letters practically entire.

WOODROW WILSON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Dec. 14, 1914.

My dear Dr. Mathews,

I greatly enjoyed our interview the other day and find myself deeply and genuinely interested in the mission you are undertaking to Japan. Everything which can bring about a better and more cordial relation between the people of this country and the people of Japan has, I need not tell you, my earnest approval.

That the feeling of America towards Japan is one of genuine friendship I think you believe as strongly as I do, and any message of friendship and co-operation and mutual good will is undoubtedly from the American people themselves.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

SECRETARY OF STATE

December 10, 1914.

Doctor Shailer Mathews,

President of the Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America.

My dear Doctor :

I am very much gratified to learn that you are going to Japan. The visit which I made to that country nine years ago, although brief, made a lasting impression upon me and whenever I have had opportunity I have been glad to advise others to make the trip. It is especially fortunate that one of your general intelligence and commanding position should acquaint yourself with our neighbors across the Pacific.

As Secretary of State I shall give you letters to Count Okuma and our diplomatic and consular officers, but I desire, unofficially and in my personal capacity, to assure you of the high hopes that I entertain of the value of your visit—not to yourself alone, but also to those among whom you go.

As the head of the Council of Churches, representing thirty great denominations and something like seventeen millions of members, your words ought to have weight when you tell the people there of the genuine friendship which the people of this nation feel toward the people of Japan. There is no country with which our relations are more amicable, there being but one subject upon which the two nations are not in entire agreement—the California question—and I have no doubt that a solution will be found for that question which will be honorable to both nations. In fact, I cannot believe that any dispute can arise between two such nations as the United States and Japan which will not yield to a peaceful settlement, both nations being animated as they are by a desire for justice and by sincere friendship each toward the other.

In Christ's prayer from the cross—"Father forgive them for they know not what they do,"—a reason for error was given which has not been sufficiently recognized. Lack of knowledge is the fruitful source of many misunderstandings, international as well as individual, and mutual acquaintance must in the end result in increased amity and friendship.

I am sure your visit to Japan will not only enable you to exert a larger influence in informing the American people, but that during your stay in Japan you will be able to increase the respect and confidence of the people there for our Government and our people by presenting American ideals and purposes.

As you associate with the leaders of Japanese thought please gather from them any suggestions that may be offered; ascertain what obstacles lie in the way and what acts cause misunderstanding, and upon your return give us the benefit of your observations and judgment.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) W. J. BRYAN.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

New Haven, December 17, 1914.

Professor Shailer Mathews,

President, etc. etc.

My dear Sir,

I am glad to hear that you are planning a trip to Japan, as a representative of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

I hope that, during your visit to that empire, you will be able to strengthen the feeling of thoughtful men there that the United States have, as a whole, only the friendliest sentiments towards Japan and the Japanese. It is always hard for a foreigner fully to appreciate the fact that the States, as States, have no direct share in adjusting the foreign relations of the United States, although their legislatures have large sovereign powers in local affairs.

I think the general opinion in the United States at large is that a mistake was made when we accepted a cession by Spain of the Philippine Islands, and that the plans of the present administration, looking to relinquishing our title to them to their people at no very distant day have the general approval of the country. We do not want to hold permanently any possessions belonging to another hemisphere. We are "the United States of America," and our Constitution, in giving that name, seems to exclude our acquisition of any territory for the purpose of forming any new State in Europe, Asia, or Africa.

We hope, as a people, that our trade with Japan may increase, and look with friendly interest at her rapid growth in other directions.

Japan has had an immense influence in developing Asiatic institutions and promoting Asiatic importance in the commercial

and political world. The United States are proud of having helped powerfully, during the last half of the nineteenth century, in starting Japan on its new career ; and fully sympathise with her spirit of national patriotism. They have no wish except that justice and peace may always rule the relations of the Japanese empire and the American republic ; each respecting the institutions of the other, as best suited to the conditions of its own people.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

ARTHUR J. BROWN

SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

Dean Shailer Mathews, D.D.,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Dr. Mathews:—

I am exceedingly glad that you and the Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick are to visit Japan with the special purpose of expressing to the Japanese people the friendly interest of the United States and the earnest desire which all of them feel for the continuance of the most amicable relations between the two countries. I am painfully aware that there are some Americans who have talked of the trouble between the two countries, and that certain professional agitators and political demagogues have said and done some things which give occasion for just complaint. I am absolutely certain, however, that a suggestion that any considerable portion of respectable Americans cherish hostile sentiments against the Japanese would be greeted with derision anywhere in the United States, except possibly in a few local communities which are not representative of the national feeling. I believe that the attitude of the American people as a whole is one of real friendliness toward Japan.

I think I may fairly claim to have had some opportunity to know the sentiment of the Christian people of America, for I have been for nearly twenty years an administrative Secretary of a large Board of Foreign Missions whose constituency includes intelligent and influential people in every part of the United States. We have been conducting missionary work in Japan for many years, our first missionary, Dr. James C. Hepburn, having gone to Japan in 1859, and his Imperial Majesty, the late Emperor, having personally recognised the value of Dr. Hepburn's services by conferring upon him the

Order of the Rising Sun. From Dr. Hepburn's arrival in Japan, fifty-five years ago, to the present, the representatives of our Board have been speaking and writing about Japan, and our missionaries there have sent innumerable letters expressing their high regard for the Japanese people and their profound interest in the welfare of the nation. Moreover, I am Chairman of the Committee of Reference and Counsel which represents the Boards of Foreign Missions of all denominations in the United States and Canada, and in this position I have had opportunities to know the sentiment which prevails in other communions. I am certain that if the Christian people in America had any unfriendly feeling toward the Japanese it would have become apparent to me, for the ordinary work of my position requires travelling, correspondence, and addresses, which bring me into touch with many parts of the country. I speak of these things to emphasize the statement that it is my deliberate conviction that the men who have been most noisily talking about trouble between the two countries do not represent the American people and that the real feeling of our countrymen toward the Japanese is one of entire friendliness and hearty good-will.

I have twice visited Japan myself, and have most grateful memories of the kindness which I received from Japanese of every position, from the late Prince Ito to the humblest coolie. You will therefore understand my profound interest in your visit to Japan, and I wish to assure you and Dr. Gulick of my earnest desire for the success of your mission and of my frequent prayer that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon you both.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ARTHUR J. BROWN.

FRANCIS E. CLARK

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETIES OF
CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR, BOSTON, MASS.

Boston, December, 17, 1914.

Dr. Shailer Mathews,

Care of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick,

105 East 22nd street, New York City.

My dear Dr. Mathews :—

At the request of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick,—a suggestion doubtless made to a good many others,—I send you my answers to the questions which he proposes.

1. So far as my observation and acquaintance with people throughout the country goes, I do not think there is any prevailing desire for territorial expansion in the Far East. I believe that the great majority of the people are convinced that we have enough over-sea responsibilities at present, and would rather diminish than increase them.

2. I have never heard any responsible person express the desire for a United States naval port on the Continent of Asia. I suppose there are jingoes and imperialists who would be glad to have such a port, but I have never happened to run across any one who desired it, and I have seen a great many people who I am sure would oppose any such expansion of the authority of our country.

3. Nor do I believe that any considerable number of our peoples, prominent or otherwise, desire in any way to undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce in Asia or anywhere else.

4. It seems to me absolutely impossible, that the United States, for the purpose of acquiring more land or larger commercial interests, should ever attack Japan or China.

5. Among the people whom I meet in the young people's conventions, people who sit upon the platform and those who make up the bulk of the audiences, I do not find the suspicion

of Japan which is sometimes found in a few of our papers. I do not think there is any widespread suspicion of Japan in the great populous states of the East and central part of our country. The suspicion is confined to a few sections and is largely aroused, I believe, by a misunderstanding of Japanese character and intentions.

I have had a somewhat wide opportunity during the last twenty years to see ministers and prominent men in other walks of life, as well as hundreds of thousands of young people in all parts of the country, having been, I think, in every state of the Union, and the views I express are deliberate, and I believe well-founded.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) FRANCIS E. CLARK.

W. H. P. FAUNCE

PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

December 24, 1914.

My dear Dr. Mathews,

I am most happy that you are soon to visit Japan, and I beg to send you an expression of personal opinion which you may use in any way you please. I visited Japan myself two years ago, and I welcomed Dr. Nitobe to Providence three years ago when he delivered a most illuminating course of lectures on the relations of Japan and America. I have the warmest regard and respect for the remarkable achievements of modern Japan, and I believe your visit will so interpret the West to the East as to continue the good work already done by Charles W. Eliot, Hamilton Mabie, and many other ambassadors of peace and good-will.

I think I know the United States from Atlantic to Pacific. I know the schools and colleges, many of the public men, and I know American ideals. I do not believe there is the slightest desire anywhere in America for the possession of any land on the Continent of Asia. I have never heard any American express such a desire. No American newspaper that I have seen has ever expressed a desire for possessions in the Continent of Asia. The Philippines have caused us enough trouble, and we want no more trouble of that kind. Personally I should like to have the United States withdraw from the Philippines at the earliest opportunity.

I do not believe there is a sensible American citizen anywhere who desires that we should have a naval base on the Continent of Asia. No American citizen, so far as I know, wishes to impede the commerce of Japan or to interfere with the prosperity of the Japanese Empire. A few years ago a Commission from Japan visited America, and I had the pleasure of dining with them here in Providence. All our

manufactures recognized the high quality of intelligence and ideal which the members of that Commission possessed. I wish that many of the leaders of Japan might now visit America, and I hope many more Americans will visit Japan. Our two nations, on opposite sides of the great Pacific Ocean, ought forever to cherish pacific sentiments and cherish constantly growing friendship.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) W. H. P. FAUNCE.

ARTHUR T. HADLEY

PRESIDENT OF YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

December 16, 1914.

My Dear Mr. Mathews :—

In answer to your question I should reply as follows.

1. The United States does not have any desire for territorial expansion in the Far East. The universal feeling among our citizens is that in our sovereignty over the Philippine Islands we have everything of this kind that we can possibly take care of for an indefinite time to come.

2. I have heard no specific desire expressed for a naval port on the continent of Asia ; and as long as we are left undisturbed in the Philippines I do not think that any such desire is likely to manifest itself.

3. In the groups of men with whom I have come in contact there is no desire to oppose the expansion of the commerce of Japan or any other nation, as long as the goods sold are what they are represented to be. But you will readily understand that in business circles people fear additional competitors, and there would probably be many groups of men who would desire to oppose the extension of individual lines of Japanese business activity—not as a matter of national policy, but as a matter of individual business.

4. I do not conceive it possible that the United States would under any circumstances attack Japan or China for purposes of selfish aggression.

5. The suspicion of Japan is due, I think, largely to the feeling that the Japanese are commercially untrustworthy and that it is difficult to know when one can take their word about anything. With our habits of thought, this defect in the national character counts for more than it should, and makes us suspicious of them even in those fields where we ought to trust them.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) ARTHUR T. HADLEY.

HUBERT C. HERRING

SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

December 22, 1914.

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick,

Care of Dr. H. H. Guy,

332 Pine Street, San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Dr. Gulick,

I am deeply interested in the visit to Japan which you and Dr. Mathews are contemplating. My duties have compelled me to travel very widely throughout the United States the last eight years, and I have naturally had opportunity to know something of the feeling of many men with reference to the relations between Japan and the United States. Nothing is more certain than that the responsible citizenship of our nation not only have a warm admiration for Japan's achievements, but desire close cooperation with her in the interest of the world's welfare. It is inconceivable to them that this country should ever attack Japan for purposes of selfish aggression, or should oppose in any manner the expansion of Japan's commerce, or influence. I have never heard the feeling expressed that the United States needs a naval port in Asia. One more often hears the opinion declared that we ought to reduce our holdings in the Orient.

It is, of course, not easy for one nation to enter sympathetically into the problems of another. A large patience and spirit of fairness are required between nations as between individuals. A great company of Americans are doing their best to create such a spirit in the United States. We ask our Japanese friends to labour earnestly for like ends in their own land.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) HUBERT C. HERRING.

R. P. HOBSON
CONGRESSMAN, ALBAMA.

Jan. 3, 1915.

Dear Mr. Gulick,

Your interesting letter of December 15th is only just before me and I note with chagrin that only immediate reply could reach you before you sail. So I write without even waiting for my Sec'y. Perhaps you might have my letter typed after deciphering, to lay before Dr. Mathews.

Answering your questions in order :

(1) The United States has no desire whatever for territorial expansion in the Far East. The United States on the contrary desires territorial contraction in those regions. I go all over the country practically every year and never yet have I heard a single citizen express a desire for such expansion.

We would *retire* from the Philippines if we could honorably do so. I do not wish to be misunderstood here. Our democratic institutions were established in the midst of monarchical dangers and have grown to maturity in full sight of the caste and militarism of the old world. The deepest resolve in the heart of America is to maintain the integrity of these democratic institutions, and to this end, no military monarchy will be permitted to establish its system in any American sphere of influence. While our people desire to *retire* from the Philippines as soon as the Filipinos are capable of self-government, yet we will always protect those helpless people from the subjection of any military monarchy. Let no friendly people be deceived. This resolve is absolute. Until our *nation* is *destroyed*, no monarch's flag will ever fly in peace over the Philippine Islands.

(2) This question would be laughable but for the persistence with which it is rumored in the Far East. I have never yet heard a citizen express the thought. It is wholly

foreign to our thoughts. Indeed I have never heard any officers in the Army or Navy suggest such a thing. We are the one nation that has never asked for any territorial concession from China or any other Asiatic Power. We wouldn't *have* such a concession. We couldn't be induced under any circumstances to accept such a concession. It is strange indeed how such ideas are being promulgated in Japan, for those Japanese who have resided in America must understand that such territorial expansion over Alien peoples is contrary to the very spirit and genius of our institutions. We have tenaciously resisted the current driving us toward Mexico. We have successfully stemmed the current that swept Cuba to our doorsteps.

(3) No.....No.....No.

(4) Such a thing is absurd. We have never attacked any people for any such purpose. We haven't even thought enough of Foreign Commerce to subsidize a merchant marine.

(5) Japan's persistently menacing attitude toward us. She strains at a gnat in San Francisco and swallows a camel in *Vancouver*. The actions of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, in matters of Japanese immigration pass unnoticed, but the local action of a single state in America, in matters over which the national government has no control, as fully understood by the Japanese Government, actions far less drastic, continue always open, and periodically the Japanese government delivers to our government what is equivalent to an ultimatum.

The Japanese Government and Japanese leaders know full well that the people of the United States have always had, not great respect but genuine affection for the Japanese people, and yet a persistent propaganda goes on in Japan, especially in the vernacular press which a word from the Government could control, propaganda such as questions 1, 2, and 3 recognize, tending to create not only suspicion but hatred in the breasts of Japanese. Every student of international politics knows that

such "*education*" founded or unfounded in fact, is an advance preparation for *war*. I need not cite the constantly recurring cases of Japanese subjects spying upon our meager defenses.

We want China, Japan and the other nations to prosper. When Japan in the late sixties paid an indemnity of \$3,000,000 for the disturbance of Shimonoseki, this sum being divided equally between Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States, by unanimous vote of our Congress, we returned the last dollar to Japan.

After the Boxer disturbance, the indemnity allotted the U. S. was \$12,000,000. By unanimous vote, we returned this to China.

Earnestly wishing your mission the greatest success, I remain.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) R. P. HOBSON.

HARRY PRATT JUDSON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

December 21, 1914.

Dear Dr. Mathews,

I have had a letter from a friend of Japan asking certain questions to which I am glad to reply.

1. Does the United States have any desire for territorial expansion in the Far East?

Answer: I never heard man, woman or child in this country express any such desire. We obtained the Philippine Islands by accident. Hawaii of course has been a matter of interest to the United States for generations, as it was under the influence of Americans that the Islands were organized in accordance with western ideas, but the accession of territory in the Far East is the last thing which the United States would desires.

2. Do the leading citizens of the United States feel that a naval port anywhere on the Continent of Asia is needed by the U. S.?

Answer: A naval port on the Continent of Asia is wholly unnecessary to the United States, and nobody of any weight in this country wishes anything of the sort.

3. Does the United States in any way oppose or desire to undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce either in Asia or elsewhere?

Answer: Nobody has had any such thought in this country.

4. Do you conceive it possible that the United States, for purposes of selfish aggression, would attack Japan or China?

Answer: The idea of any such attack is grotesque. It is too absurd even for deliberate discussion.

The United States has no desire to expand its territory or to attack any other nation in the world. It is very strongly

the desire of the United States that its relations with China and Japan should be entirely friendly. It is the opinion of leading citizens in the U. S., I think universally, that it is very much to the interest of both Japan and the United States that the Pacific Ocean should not be the center of naval and military hostilities. A friendly understanding between the two countries without any formal alliance would make that entirely possible, and would leave the Twentieth Century to the normal development of commerce and civilization in that vast field.

5. What is the ground of the suspicion of Japan more or less widespread in the United States?

Answer: Largely, I think, the vaporings of the Yellow Press in both countries, combined with a lack of adequate understanding in this country of the best thought of Japan. Perhaps the fact that Japan has followed the German policy as to large military and naval organization has had some weight in the matter.

It is the duty of every thoughtful man in both countries to do what lies in his power to forward a better understanding of one another between these nations.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

J. H. R. KIRKLAND

CHANCELLOR VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN.

December 22, 1914.

Dear Dr. Gulick :—

The educational workers of this country will follow with the greatest interest your visit to Japan, and we sincerely trust that the efforts of yourself and Dr. Shailer Mathews may bring about a more perfect understanding and a fuller sympathy between our country and that great country of the Far East. To some of us it has seemed that public opinion in both countries is being directed and influenced without regard to truth or patriotism. So far as I know the feeling of citizens of the United States in this part of the nation there is no desire for territorial expansion in eastern countries. On all sides I heard years ago the greatest regret expressed that we had been led or driven to the occupation of the Philippines. We certainly do not wish to add to our embarrassment by any further expansion in that quarter.

The United States does desire the expansion of its own commerce both in Asia and elsewhere, but this desire does not carry with it any purpose to injure or undermine the commerce of Japan or any other nation. Nations, like individuals, must compete in commercial relations without strife, anger, or injustice. Commercial relations should lead to friendship, not to war. If this relation cannot be secured, civilization is a failure. For these reasons citizens of the United States do not feel that a naval port is needed on the Continent of Asia, nor is it believed to be remotely possible that the United States would attack Japan or China or even the weakest nation of the world for any purpose of selfish aggression.

In my opinion it is greatly to be desired that unfriendly publications and criticisms of Japan in America should cease, and similarly publications unfriendly to America in Japan.

The reiterated statement that these two countries will come into conflict is the best preparation for such conflict. That state of mind preceded the great European war of today. One great purpose to be achieved by your visit will be to relieve somewhat such a feeling and to assure the people of Japan that the citizens of the United States desire in all things a continuance of friendly relation and cooperation in every good enterprise that makes for the uplift of the world and the progress of culture and commerce in the Far East.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. H. R. KIRKLAND.

HENRY CHURCHILL KING

PRESIDENT OF OBERLIN COLLEGE, OBERLIN, OHIO.

December 18, 1914.

My dear Dr. Mathews,

I am very glad to express to you my own feeling upon the questions raised by Dr. Gulick, and my feeling, I am sure, reflects that of the vast majority of all those whom I have had opportunity to sound on this question.

I am certain, myself, that the United States has no desire for territorial expansion in the Far East, and I am equally confident that the leading citizens of the United States do not feel that a naval port anywhere on the Continent of Asia is needed by this country. Most American citizens would think that territorial expansion in the Far East would be a weakness rather than a gain to the country.

I do not believe, either, that the country at large has any desire to oppose or undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce anywhere. It believes that legitimate commerce involves the mutual good of those concerned, and that the prosperity of any one nation is likely to be a gain for all. So far as there is suspicion of Japan in the United States—and I have not myself supposed that such serious suspicion was wide-spread among well-informed people—I should myself think it likely to be due to the agitation of some jingoes who are devoted to building up our own military power, or to what often seems a rather aggressive attitude on Japan's part, revealed, perhaps, most disquietingly in the relations to China. I have never been able to persuade myself however, that Japan desired anything but friendly relations with the United States. And I cannot conceive the remotest contingency in which the United States would, for purposes of selfish aggression, attack Japan or China. I think it would be impossible to overstate that.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) HENRY CHURCHILL KING.

SETH LOW

FORMER MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY, FORMER PRESIDENT OF
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Jan. 4, 1915.

Dear Dr. Mathews:—

My opinion has been asked as to the several points covered by the following questions :

1. Does the United States have any desire for territorial expansion in the Far East ?

I think such a thing is truly foreign to the ideas of the American people. I have not heard it suggested in any quarter, and were it to be suggested I think it would receive no popular support.

2. Do the leading citizens of the United States feel that a naval port anywhere on the continent of Asia is needed by the U. S. ?

This, again, to me is an entirely new proposal, and I cannot imagine that the idea would command popular approval. The American people want a navy for defensive purposes. They do not want it for purposes of offence.

3. Does the United States in any way oppose or desire to undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce either in Asia or elsewhere ?

My opinion is that the people of the United States are altogether friendly to the people of Japan, and that they have not the slightest desire either to oppose or to undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce in Asia or anywhere in the world. There will be commercial rivalry of course between the United States and Japan as between the United States and all other maritime countries, but in commerce the United States wishes only a fair field, and no favor. That is why the United States favors the open door in China.

4. Do you conceive it possible that the United States, for purposes of selfish aggression, would attack Japan or China?

I think it unimaginable. In view of the discussion which is going on at the moment as to the condition of the Army and Navy of the United States for purposes of defence, it requires a sense of humor to fancy that this country is moved by any aggressive spirit whatever. No people in the world were ever more surprised than was the United States at the end of the Spanish-American war to find itself in possession of the Philippines. The American people were reconciled to this result only because it appeared to them at the time that they could not honorably permit the Philippines to become a bone of contention among the nations of the world. Probably there are few Americans that wish to remain permanently in control of the Philippines, the only difference of opinion being as to the time when, and the conditions upon which, independence is to be conceded to the Islands. A federal republic like the United States is embarrassed and not strengthened by colonies which cannot ultimately be admitted into the Federal Union on the basis of other States. Even the territorial form of government which for many years was applied to the undeveloped part of the Continental United States, as it is now applied to Alaska, has fitted in so little with American ideals that separate States have been made out of what was formerly United States territory as soon as the population was large enough to give even a decent excuse. Such a nation is not likely to attack either Japan or China for purposes of selfish aggression.

5. What is the ground of the suspicion of Japan, more or less widespread in the United States?

If there is any such suspicion in any quarter I should say that it would be a great exaggeration to speak of it as widespread.

There is some feeling that in Manchuria and Corea, where Japan controls, the "open door" is a phrase rather than an

actuality, but how well founded this feeling is I do not know. Everyone must recognize that the attitude of California towards Japan is a subject that will involve danger of misunderstanding between the nations until it is satisfactorily adjusted. Japan should realize that for Americans this is primarily a question of economics ; and secondarily a question which involves, in a new form, the difficulty of absorbing into the American population people of very widely different races. We Americans, on the other hand, need to learn that with Japan it is a question of "amour propre." It is of course evident to thinking people that, upon the very small scale of today, neither of these problems is serious. Unhappily, those who feel the economic competition even upon the small scale of today are able to play upon the fears of those who would be affected, or who think they would be affected, by a serious increase in the number of Japanese living in this country. Both of these questions, also, appear to be in their essence essentially domestic questions ; so that the one essential for their proper solution is that they be handled with so much consideration for the feelings of the Japanese as not to give reasonable offence. The American people as a whole, without doubt, wish to accord to Japan everything that is due to a gallant and enlightened people. Nowhere in the American heart, I am sure, is there a desire to treat Japan, or the Japanese, otherwise than as a great and high-spirited Nation and people ought to be treated. If the American Congress were able to deal with the situation, exclusively, there would be nothing to fear. The embarrassment to both nations comes from the fact that, under our Federal system, a single State may take action which may seriously embarrass both nations. It is a pity that this is so ; and it is easily understood that this is hard to explain to the Japanese people. On the other hand, in my judgment, the Japanese government owes it to the American people and to the historic friendship which has existed between the two nations, to do everything in its power

to make the situation clear to Japan. What we have to deal with in this connection is one of the many problems resulting from the closer intimacy between the East and the West. Both West and East must learn how to deal with it in a spirit of frankness and of mutual good will. Thoughtful public opinion in the United States recognizes the problem with its embarrassment and its difficulties ; but, despite it all, I am sure that Japan has no more sincere and loyal friend among the nations of the world than the United States of America.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) SETH LOW.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

December 22, 1914.

Dear Mr. Gulick,

In answer to the questions in your letter, let me say that I never met anyone in the United States who desired for us territorial expansion in the Far East; nor do I know of any desire for a naval port on the Continent of Asia. I cannot conceive it possible that the United States, for the purposes of national aggression, should take any steps against Japan or China.

The ground for suspicion of Japan, which is undoubtedly widespread in the United States, is, that for the purposes of her expansion she might desire to disturb the present status of the United States in the Pacific; and it appears that the irritation in Japan against the United States is probably based upon a similar fear, wholly ungrounded, of aggression on the part of the United States. That two nations which ought to be completely friendly and whose policies ought not to clash, should entertain mutual suspicions is wholly deplorable.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

WILLIAM H. ROBERTS

STATED CLERK OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF THE U. S. A.

December 21, 1914.

Dear Dr. Gulick :—

You are going to Japan as the representative of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to bear to the Japanese the kindly greetings of the Protestant Christian bodies which represent more than one half of the population of the United States. Of these Christian bodies the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. is an influential factor, and both the President and the Secretary of State of the United States are members of it. I desire as the Secretary of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to give to you my opinion on the following matters :—

1. The United States of America have no desire for territorial expansion in the Far East.

2. Whatever port on the continent of Asia the United States might find it advisable to ask for, the purpose of such a port would be purely commercial; however, I have yet to know of any distinct intention on the part of the United States government to secure such a port on the mainland of Asia.

3. The United States do not desire to oppose the expansion of Japan's commerce, either in Asia or elsewhere.

4. I do not think it probable that the United States, for purposes of selfish aggression, would attack either Japan or China. The United States have been persistently and consistently the friend of both Japan and China.

5. I do not think that there is suspicion of Japan in the United States of America to any such extent as many persons imagine. The opposition to Japanese immigration comes mainly from laboring classes in certain States who are jealous of laborers from Japan coming into competition with them.

At one time this feeling was marked as against the Irish, and more recently the Slavs and Italians. Too much has been made of this racial opposition, as if it was directed against the Japanese only ; as intimated it has affected other peoples.

Wishing you success in this important work, and tendering to President Mathews as well as yourself best wishes for a safe journey both going and returning. I am

Yours cordially,

(Signed) WM. H. ROBERTS.

WILLIAM SHAW

GENERAL SECRETARY UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN
ENDEAVOR.

December 17, 1914.

My dear Dr. Mathews,

It is with feelings of profound satisfaction that I have learned of your proposed visit to Japan for the purpose of interpreting to the Japanese people the real attitude of the people of the United States toward them.

The idea of war between us is monstrous, and comes only as a result of mutual misunderstanding.

My duties require extended travel in all sections of our country, and I am convinced that, with the exception of certain localities on the Pacific coast, there is absolutely no feeling of enmity toward the Japanese ; and, where this unfortunate condition does exist, it is due to the fact that the Japanese have colonized in groups and practically forced out all other labor, thus creating local prejudice and antagonism.

As a people we rejoice in the magnificent progress Japan has made in the last fifty years, and particularly because we as a nation have been so closely associated with her in this development.

I find no desire on the part of our people for territorial expansion in the Far East, but rather a strong disposition to retire from our present position in the Philippines so soon as the promise of local self-government is assured.

I have yet to meet with any influential advocate of a naval base anywhere on the continent of Asia as a necessary or desirable acquisition by the United States.

I believe that the rumors of jealousy on the part of the United States because of Japan's increasing commerce, or a disposition to oppose it in any way are absolutely without foundation and circulated only by those who hope for personal gain

from the result of friction between Japan and the United States.

I cannot conceive of any situation arising that would lead the United States to attack either China or Japan. If war should come, which God forbid, it would be a war of defence on our part. No administration could carry the consent of our people in a war of aggression.

I am aware of the fact that suspicion and prejudice against the Japanese in our country have been fostered by certain individuals and newspapers ; but this is very limited in extent, and makes up in noise and display what it lacks in fact and following.

The Japanese by reason of their national characteristics of reserve and isolation, and their domestic habits, so different from ours, seem to give ground for suspicion.

These suspicions are soon removed when one has the privilege of intimate acquaintance and understanding.

We need to recognize on both sides of the Pacific Ocean that we are struggling today with inherited race prejudices that only time, and close fellowship, and, above all, a spirit of good will, can eradicate.

Let us banish the thought of war which would only embitter our relations for generations, and let us settle our differences by reason and patient good will, and believe that the progress of each means the largest success for all.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. SHAW.

EDWARD A. STEINER

PROFESSOR IOWA COLLEGE, GRINNELL, IOWA.

December 21, 1914.

Dear Dr. Mathews,

I am delighted to know that in this critical moment of the world's history you are contemplating a journey to Japan to interpret to our brethren the feeling of the people of America, and to try to clear up mutual misunderstandings.

As you know I have traveled all over the country and have addressed thousands of audiences, and I can say positively that the people of the United States as a whole are averse to war, especially to a war with the Japanese people.

I do not know of any question upon which they are so united as that there is no desire for territorial expansion in any direction. Any idea contrary to this expressed by any leading man would be regarded as the height of folly and as absolutely untrue.

The desire of the people of the United States is not only to be at peace with its neighbours, but to help to foster the prosperity and happiness of other peoples.

If there is in the popular mind of the American people any suspicion of Japan it is due to the fact that they believe that Japan may have designs upon our Pacific possessions, and some people have even such foolish notions as that she desires to invade our own Pacific coast.

There is no single fact for which I would be so ready to vouch as for this one: That the United States has not only no desire to attack China or Japan, but that it has a consuming desire for peace with the whole world, and especially with our neighbors in the East.

I shall pray earnestly that your mission will be successful, and that into the difficult sphere of misunderstanding you will be able to carry the note of fraternal confidence.

Most sincerely yours,

(Signed) EDWARD A. STEINER.

G. W. F. SWARTZELL
CAPITALIST, WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 24, 1914.

Dear Dr. Mathews :—

It is a pleasure to know that you and Dr. Gulick are to go to Japan on a mission which has for its object the strengthening of the bonds of peace and international friendship between that country and our own, and I wish most sincerely that you may have a successful conference.

It is contrary to the general policy of the United States to engage in territorial expansion beyond its own shores, and the acquisition of the territory which it now holds beyond such shores was not a matter of choice but of necessity.

There is a strong sentiment throughout the country in favor of granting independence to the Philippine Islands when the inhabitants shall have progressed sufficiently in the art of government to warrant the granting of the privilege of self-government.

There is not, so far as I am informed, any desire for a naval port in Asia, and the United States does not wish to undermine the commerce of Japan in Asia, but desires its relations with Japan and China, as well as all other countries, to be conducted with the utmost harmony and good-will, and I cannot conceive it possible that the United States would wish to attack Japan or China for any purpose of selfish aggression.

With sincere good wishes for a successful visit, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) G. W. F. SWARTZELL.

THOMAS W. SYNNOTT

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD'S SUNDAY SCHOOL
ASSOCIATION, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

December 30, 1914.

My dear Dr. Mathews,

As you are about leaving for Japan, I desire to give you my views of the relations existing between the United States and Japan.

We neither need nor desire to acquire new territory in the Far East. In fact, as you know, we are trying to rid ourselves of the Philippines, retaining only a coaling station, and are pledged to do so as soon as the Philipinos show sufficient evidence of their ability to govern themselves. We certainly have no need of any other naval port in the Far East. Our aim is to discourage other nations from acquiring such ports or territory at the expense of China, and to aid her in forming a stable government that will help her people to higher ideals of living. We have already helped the Cubans and refused to take over their country, notwithstanding the fact that a very large part of them desired it, believing it the only way by which they could secure a stable government.

There is no ground of suspicion or feeling here against Japan except in parts of California, and this feeling has been created by the jingo press both of California and Japan. In the United States the jingoes represent but a very small fraction of the people. The vast majority of the American people have nothing but feelings of good will and friendship for the people of Japan, and I believe that the great majority of the better element in both countries entertain friendly feelings for each other.

It is inconceivable that the American people would ever attempt to provoke a war with Japan. There is absolutely no reason for it. Nothing could be gained by it. The only result would be a great loss of life, with increased debt and taxation

for both countries. After the present war in Europe is ended, we believe future differences between nations will be settled by method other than the sword.

We rejoice that Japan has such noble and worthy men as Count Okuma, Baron Kato, Baron Sakatani, Baron Shibusawa, and Messrs. Ukai, Kawasumi, Morimura, and many others of like character and ability, and many of us are looking forward with pleasant anticipations to the World's Sunday School Convention to be held in Tokyo 1916, and trust it may be the means of increasing the friendship existing between Japan and America.

Wishing you a pleasant voyage, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) THOMAS W. SYNNOTT.

GEORGE E. VINCENT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

December 18, 1914.

My dear Dr. Gulick,

You ask my opinion on certain points. My replies are as follows.

I am confident that the United States does not dream of territorial expansion in the Far East. On the contrary, I believe a majority of our citizens will be glad when we can be honorably relieved from the responsibility which we now have in the Philippines.

Nor do I believe that any thoughtful citizen of the United States feels that we need a naval port anywhere on the Continent of Asia. Our commerce will expand without the aid of a great navy.

So far as I see the situation there is no purpose or wish on the part of the United States to stand in the way of Japan's commercial development in Asia or anywhere else.

There has been at one time or another a good deal of talk about the Japanese peril. This has been for the most part vague and indefinite. Fear that the Philippines might be taken by the Japanese has perhaps been the chief ground of apprehension. The anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific coast has given rise to all kinds of allegations and rumors. There has been, too, an impression that Japan's success in the war with Russia has created a sense of national pride which has been regarded as a source of danger. I do not believe, however, that thoughtful Americans really entertain the idea that Japan is planning to attack the United States.

I can imagine no conditions under which the United States would seek to aggrandize itself territorially or otherwise by an attack on either Japan or China.

With the sincere hope that your mission will be successful
in interpreting to Japan the true attitude of the United States.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) GEORGE E. VIVCENT.

HENRY WALLACE

EDITOR, "WALLACE'S FARMER," DES MOINES, IOWA.

December 22, 1914.

My dear Dr. Mathews,

You ask me as an old journalist, having a wide acquaintance with farm thought and a more or less intimate relationship with the men who are guiding our affairs in Washington, to answer five questions :

(1) Does the United States have any desire for territorial expansion in the Far East? Not the least. The Philippines came to us as the spoils of our war with Spain. We have undertaken at our own expense the work of fitting them to be a self-governing people, with the idea, which we are carrying out gradually, of ultimately making them an independent nation. The sooner they prove themselves fit, the better.

(2) Do the leading citizens of the United States feel that a naval port anywhere on the continent of Asia is needed by the United States? With all my acquaintance with public men and my knowledge of the sayings of the public press, I have never heard it suggested even once. What do we want with a naval station on the continent of Asia? With a naval station in Hawaii and Guam and one in the Philippines, we have all that we will ever need.

(3) Does the United States in any way oppose or desire to undermine the expansion of Japan's commerce either in Asia or elsewhere? Most certainly not. Japan is a valuable customer of ours. The more goods she can send us, the more we can send her. The greater the prosperity of the Japanese, the greater will be our prosperity. We can sell our products to advantage only to people who can with advantage sell us their products. Here in the United States we are too far advanced in civilization to have the slightest idea that we must own the earth in order to trade with it. The world can prosper

only when a free hand is given to all its various peoples to develop their native talents and genius and resources.

(4) Do you conceive it possible that the United States, for purposes of selfish aggression, would attack Japan or China? This idea seems to me utterly preposterous. We have trouble enough of our own.

(5) What is the ground of the suspicion of Japan, more or less widespread in the United States? Outside of California, I do not know of any suspicion against the people of Japan. The Japanese are more industrious than we are. They are more skilful in certain lines of agriculture. Naturally, the men who don't want to work very hard are suspicious of any man or race that can work more efficiently than they can. When a member of Roosevelt's Country Life Commission I was in California. I came to the conclusion that the objection to the Japanese was founded mainly on the fact that he could do better work, or as good work and do it cheaper, than the American help that could be obtained in California. Outside of this I have heard of no objection.

Sincerely,

(Signed) HENRY WALLACE.

HERBERT WELCH

PRESIDENT OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, DELAWARE, OHIO.

December 17, 1915.

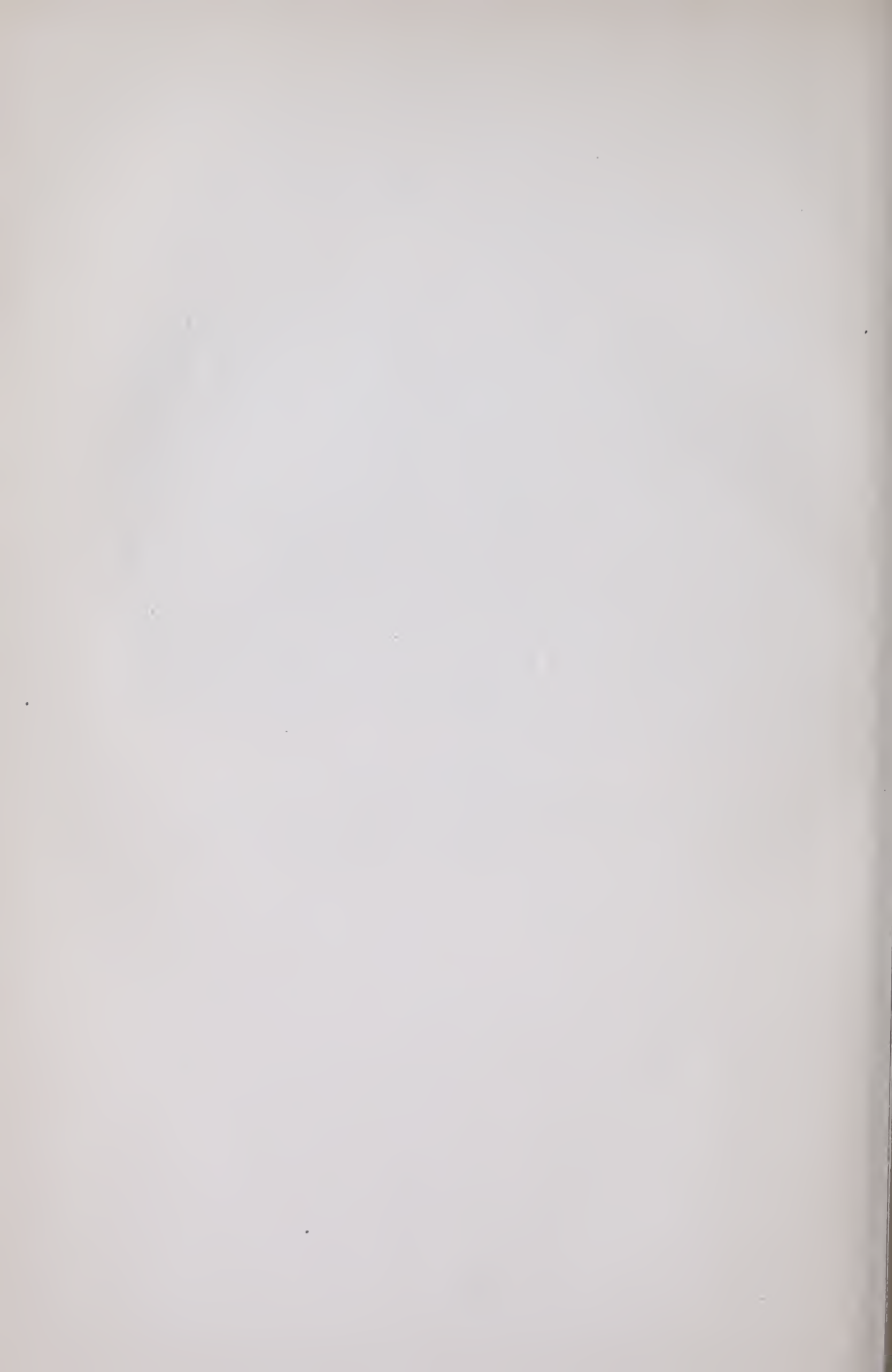
Prof. Shailer Mathews, Ph. D.,
President of Federal Council,
New York.

My dear Sir :

As you are just going on a friendly visit to Japan, I should like to express my own belief that the United States cherishes no ambitions that should occasion the slightest anxiety or uneasiness in Japan. We do not want any more territory in the Far East, not even a naval port in China. We welcome, rather than deplore, the extension of Japan's commerce. An aggressive attack on Japan by the United States is simply unthinkable. I believe our people desire the closest relations of friendship and co-operation with the great Island Empire beyond the Pacific, and I trust that your trip with Dr. Gulick may be one means of bringing about a better understanding between these two great peoples.

Ever heartily yours,

(Signed) HERBERT WELCH.



V

The material presented in the two preceding sections reveals the grounds for the decision of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for sending to Japan its Christian Embassy. This Embassy does not come on a political errand. Its object is much larger and deeper. It seeks, not to adjust diplomatic and legal relations, but to promote a right moral and spiritual attitude between the two nations facing the Pacific.

As one means to this end, the Federal Council, on behalf of the churches it represents, has sent by its Christian Embassy, a letter of greeting to the churches and Christians of Japan.

TO THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN JAPAN

Greetings :—

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, on behalf of its thirty constituent denominations, has delegated two of our most honored and beloved representatives, to convey to you the assurance of our love unfeigned and of our prayers in your behalf.

Professor Shailer Mathews, Doctor of Divinity, is the Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, an author widely known among us, and for this quadrennium, President of the Federal Council.

The Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, Doctor of Divinity, needs no introduction to you, for he has been a missionary in Japan for many years. Since his return to America upon his furlough, he has been invited to our most prominent pulpits, has secured a hearing for the cause of Japan by the foremost men of our nation, and returns to you not only as your brother, but entrusted with the duty of representing, with Dr. Mathews, this Federal Council. We are thus sending to you those who are well qualified to speak for us.

We beg to assure you, dear brethren, of the interest with which we have noted the recent history of Japan, that ancient and venerable nation with its notable achievements in the arts and sciences. With eager hand you have grasped what other peoples could offer for the enrichment of your life, and in turn you have contributed to the life of the world the inspiration of your fine enthusiasm. You have felt the stimulation of ethical ideals, the transcendent significance of moral values. In the industrial, intellectual and moral fields of your activity, America has noted your unwearied progress.

But our deepest interest and sympathy have been evoked by the numbers of those who have been reaching out eager hands to God. Beyond all else the spectacle of so many in

Japan, seeking after a deeper and stronger spiritual life, has moved and still moves our hearts. It is with such sympathy toward you, beloved brethren, that we send our messengers to you.

We believe that the religion of Jesus makes its largest possible contribution to the peace and uplift of the world, not when it undertakes by ecclesiastical utterances and activities to solve the complex intellectual and practical problems of civilization, but rather when it leads men to the inner life of spiritual self-mastery and self-devotion, helps them to learn the privilege and joy of absolute trust in Christ our Lord, and enables them to appreciate the obligation of such loyal devotion to Him as finds expression in holy and unselfish service of humanity.

We are sending these, our brethren, to tell you as no written word of ours can tell, the sincerity of our affection, the eagerness of our desire, and the steady persuasion of our hope that we all, of the East and of the West, shall be one in Jesus Christ.

We pray that in your land and in ours, faith shall have its satisfying vision of our Lord, that love shall be sanctified by His fellowship, and that our common life shall be broadened in its sympathies and beautified with His likeness.

May the God of love unite our hearts in the bonds of holy sympathy, and bring us all into the joy of fellowship one with another through that diviner fellowship which is with the Father and with His Son our Saviour.

May peace and prosperity abide in all the homes of Japan. May your schools be centers of intellectual light and your churches centers of moral life and spiritual power. May believers be multiplied and all your land be blest by Him who is the Light of the World, the Redeemer of men.

Now unto Him that is able to keep you from falling and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with

exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power both now and ever, Amen.

Your brethren in Christ :

The Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America,

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,

General Secretary.

VI

The Commission on Relations with Japan established by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America made their first official utterance on the American-Japanese problem early in December, 1914. It consisted of a resolution appealing to Congress and the American people for the adoption of an adequate Oriental policy.

RESOLUTION

The awakening of Asia and her rapid acquisition of important elements of Occidental civilization inaugurates a new era in world history in which Asia is to play a new and increasingly important role. Whether that role shall be one of peace, good will and mutual co-operation, or one controlled by increasing suspicion and fear between the East and the West will depend largely upon the attitude of the western nations themselves.

It has seemed to many of our citizens who have become familiar with the questions raised by this more intimate and ever increasing contact with the Orient that the United States might well adopt a more adequate oriental policy.

Therefore be it

Resolved that the Commission on Relations with Japan, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, urges upon Congress and upon the people of the United States the importance of adopting an oriental policy the fundamental principle of which shall be the just and equitable treatment of all races, and to this end suggests that the entire immigration problem be taken up at an early date, providing for comprehensive legislation covering all phases of the question, (such as the limitation of immigration and the registration, distribution, employment, education, and naturalizations, of immigrants) in such a way as to conserve American institutions, to protect American labor from dangerous economic competition and to promote an intelligent and enduring friendliness among the peoples of all nations.

VII

Of the thirty denominations composing the Federal Council, only one has held an annual meeting since the establishment of the Commission on Relations with Japan and the announcement of its proposals and plans for investigating the American-Japanese problem with a view to the promotion of right relations between these two countries.

The Northern Baptist Annual Convention was held in June, 1914. It consisted of 2,777 delegates, representing churches having a membership of 1,587,868 and a constituency of over 5,000,000.

RESOLUTION

“The far-reaching plan of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to strengthen the bonds of good fellowship between Japan and the United States, meets with our heartiest approval.”

VIII

A PERSONAL NOTE

During the past year and a half it has been my privilege to travel rather widely through the United States for the purpose of helping my countrymen to understand Japan more adequately. I have delivered 259 addresses and sermons before Chambers of Commerce, Men's Clubs, and churches of many denominations. I have been in Washington three times, and have had interviews with members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. The Senate Committee on Immigration gave me opportunity to address it on the Japanese questions. Three times have I been favored with interviews by Secretary Bryan and twice by President Wilson. In the different cities visited I have had personal conferences with many leading citizens, especially with editors of newspapers. The press has given wide publicity to the substance of my addresses and proposals.

The impression made upon me by this rather wide experience is entirely favorable. The good-will and desire of Americans for right international relations is practically universal. Those who have definite and positive suspicions of Japan are rare, and still rarer are those who harbor ill-will. There has undoubtedly been felt somewhat widely a vague fear lest Japan might take precipitate military action to force the settlement of matters over which certain differences have developed. Beyond doubt also is the fact of a certain amount of friction in California, and the disclosure of certain defects in the governmental machinery of the United States, rendering slow and somewhat difficult the satisfactory settlement of international questions.

1. But what I regard as an important discovery concerns the relation of the newspapers to this entire question. I have frequently said that "the only yellow peril to-day is the peril of the yellow press," and this statement has invariably called forth applause. This widespread American attitude to the press frequently comes to light in the letters from which quotations have been made in the preceding pages. Throughout

the country there is wide condemnation of the "irresponsible," "sensational" press; it is supposed to delight in stirring up international turmoil; many even believe that it is paid for this purpose by interested parties, such as manufactures of war material whose prosperity depends on war scares, or by wily politicians and unscrupulous diplomats.

I am not prepared to say that there is no subsidizing of the press, direct or indirect. Indeed, I am inclined to think there may be something in such surmises. But my discovery is along another line. I have become convinced that the vast majority of our papers are not moved by deliberate policy, much less by malicious purposes in reporting international news. The primary aim of all papers is to be interesting and thus to secure a large sale. The great "crime" of a paper is to be dull or belated in its news. In the eagerness to be interesting and up to date, all "news" is prepared under great pressure. In order to be interesting, a man is specially set aside to write the headlines, who has skill in condensing into a few striking words some suggestions as to the subject matter in the column. His aim is not to be accurate or informing, but rather to be interesting. This is the main source of startling headlines announcing with great definiteness, "War With Japan Certain."

The amount of reading material presented in the papers, moreover, is too large to be read with care. The usual busy man on his way to business glances over the headlines, and as his particular interests do not concern foreign affairs, he looks at hardly more than the headlines. So far as there is suspicion of Japan in America, it has been built up largely by these headlines, which, however, were not intended to be malicious.

The important lesson to be drawn from this fact is that those who seek to promote international good-will between Japan and the United States must teach the people on both sides of the Pacific not to put confidence in startling stories or

striking headlines. For I doubt not the same caution is needed in Japan.

2. I feel too that I have made a second important discovery as to the way in which international ill-will and resentment are developed. No doubt there is more or less of friction between individuals of our two nations who have had unfortunate experiences. These form the starting point for exaggerations. As soon as vague suspicion has been started, it welcomes stories on which to feed. The intrinsic improbability of the story is not perceived. The hearer possesses insufficient positive knowledge to render the story incredible, and the attitude of suspicion predisposes the hearer to accept as true any bad story about the alien individual or nation, provided only that it is bad.

I have learned to put a question mark against every anti-Japanese story circulated in America and every anti-American story circulated in Japan. A few of them may have some small amount of truth, but they are not true in the form in which they are circulated.

3. The reader will have noticed that none of the letters quoted above deal with the technical or legal questions at issue between Japan and the United States, not do they make any suggestions as to methods of solution. This is due entirely to the nature of the questions sent out, which were prepared for the purpose of ascertaining the facts on the points raised by my correspondents in Japan.

4. A fact widely overlooked by critics of California is that Section II. of the Alien Land Law of 1913 provides that aliens ineligible for citizenship shall have all rights specifically guaranteed by treaties. Technically speaking, therefore, the law does not conflict with the treaty. In cases of dispute as to Japanese rights, since the law specifically says that rights secured by the treaty shall be granted, the question as to the respective authorities of national treaties and state laws can not possibly arise.

The California Alien Land Law is nevertheless obnoxious. Technically faultless, in spirit and purpose it is morally wrong. The real question at issue between Japan and California is not legal and technical, but concerns the right of a State to offend the dignity of a friendly nation with which the United States has a treaty guaranteeing national goodwill. Such an issue is moral and spiritual. And this is the reason why the churches of America are vitally concerned in the matter.

5. Moreover, wide misunderstanding prevails in Japan in regard to the Federal law defining those who are eligible for citizenship. The law in question, which says that only "free white men" may become citizens by naturalization, was enacted in 1790, and was amended after the Civil War by the addition of a provision covering the new political status given negroes. It had accordingly no reference whatever to Japanese or any Asiatics. Only in recent years has it been interpreted as having such a significance. How to adjust the difficulty created by this law that comes down from the earliest period of our national life is one of the problems now confronting us.

6. The recent tendency of some states to enact special laws dealing with aliens is easily misunderstood in Japan. Many states are confronted with serious difficulties arising from large immigration from South Europe; this is the main cause for anti-alien agitation and proposed legislation in such states as Arizona, New Mexico, and Idaho.

7. From my experience in America during the past year and more, I do not hesitate to say that all our responsible citizenship recognizes that a real problem has arisen on the Pacific Coast. Japan and the Japanese in California have important rights in their contention, but so also do Californians have important rights in theirs. The problem is how to reconcile these apparently conflicting claims, and how to adjust the laws of the land so as to do full justice to both sides. A part of the difficulty lies in the fact that many on each side fail to

see the point or to understand the justice of the conflicting claim advanced by the other side. For this, education, however, is needed. If both sides sincerely desire to know the truth and do what is right, the problem is not so difficult. Furthermore, the relation to Japan of Japanese naturalized as citizens of the United States, has an important bearing on the entire matter under discussion. Neither diplomacy nor legislation can make much headway with the solution of the technical, legal, or diplomatic problems until the people both of the United States and of Japan shall have received adequate education and learn to look at each others problems with sympathetic eyes.

8. A few words also seem called for in regard to the point whether the crux of the problem is economic or racial. Each view has its convinced advocates. When I began to study the question, my own view was that it was at bottom a matter of race prejudice. Study, however, has convinced me that the race factor is minor. The economic factor is the chief problem, and this has been complicated by party politics. Aspiring politicians have utilized the undoubted economic problem and have appealed to race difference in order to promote personal, or class, or union, or party, interests. Many Americans are now beginning to see this and to insist that such considerations shall not be longer allowed to create international friction.

On the desk of Secretary Bryan in the Department of State is a prophetic paper weight. It is made from a bayonet which has been transformed into a miniature plow, and on the plow are inscribed the words, "There is no last word between friends." Mr. Bryan explained to Dr. Mathews and myself when we called upon him last December that he had used these words in conversation with Ambassador Viscount Chinda. Friends never refuse to listen to requests from, nor do they issue ultimatums to, one another.

There is undoubtedly a problem between America and Japan, but it is my conviction that nine hundred and ninety-nine

out of a thousand Americans earnestly desire that that problem shall be solved on the basis of friendship. And they are equally convinced that it cannot be solved on any other basis. Just what form that solution will take, no one is yet in a position to state. But this is certain,—that they who are friends must take pains to see fully each the other's viewpoint, and then each must be willing to make adjustments. I am satisfied that this is what the overwhelming majority of responsible Americans desire and will do as soon as adequate education can be secured for the millions of voters whose active cooperation must be secured.

I earnestly ask that all in Japan who love peace and desire to promote international good-will on the basis of righteousness and justice, may aid us in America who are engaged in this enormous educational enterprise, to carry it through to a successful issue. For if we in America are to be successful, it is essential that you our brothers and fellow-workers in Japan shall do your part. It is as necessary for Japan to understand the U.S. as it is for the U.S. to understand Japan.

In conclusion, we must never forget that the "Japanese-American question" cannot be solved as an isolated question. It is but one element in the larger questions of the relations of the East and the West, and in America, of the general problem of immigration, and also of labor and capital. These problems, precipitated upon us by the extraordinary advance of modern mechanical civilization and industrialism, cannot be solved by violence nor by threats, nor even by mere processes of diplomacy and legislation. National education, national self-restraint, international patience, sympathy, and good-will can alone provide that spiritual factor by whose aid the practical difficulties of the impact and intercourse of the nations and races can be satisfactorily solved.

Let all true patriots of every land join in this noble work.

SIDNEY L. GULICK.

Gaylord Bros.
Makers
Syracuse, N. Y.
PAT. JAN. 21, 1908

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The friendship of America for Japan

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